

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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AGRE-00 COME-00 AID-05 ACDA-12 /134 W
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P R 301425Z MAR 78 ZFF4
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5954
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KINSASA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KIGALI 495

KINSHASA ALSO FOR DATT

NAIROBI FOR REDSO/EA

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, EGEN, MPOL, EAID, RW
SUBJECT: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA

REF KIGALI 447 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: MUCH OF MY PRE-CONSULTATION CHAT WITH PRESIDENT
COVERED GROUND ALREADY EXPLORED WITH FONMIN LAST WEEK
(REFTEL). PRESIDENT WAS PLEASED AT GOOD REPORTS I WAS
TAKING BACK TO WASHINGTON BUT CONCERNED THAT WASHINGTON
STILL PAID TOO LITTLE ATTENTION TO CENTRAL AFRICA. LIKE
FONMIN, HE WAS WORRIED BY SOVIET/CUBAN ROLE AND TROUBLED
THAT RWANDA'S "FRIENDS" WERE UNWILLING TO PROVIDE MILITARY
ASSISTANCE. EXPRESSED PARTICULAR INTEREST IN ANGLO-
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AMERICAN PLAN, OUR RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE, AND REGIONAL
COOPERATION (CEPGL). HOPED RECENTLY SIGNED AID AGREE-
MENTS WOULD LEAD TO MUCH LARGER US "IMPACT" IN RWANDA.
AND APPEALED ONCE AGAIN FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE. END
SUMMARY.

1. ON EVE OF DEPARTING ON CONSULTATION, I SPENT ONE HOUR

TOURING HORIZON WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. FOREIGN MINISTER NSEKALIJE AND PRESIDENCY SEC GEN BURAGEYA WERE ALSO PRESENT.

2. I TOLD PRESIDENT I WAS TAKING TO WASHINGTON A LARGELY POSITIVE REPORT OF CURRENT RELATIONS WITH RWANDA, PARTICULARLY IN AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO US:

-- HUMAN RIGHTS, WHERE RWANDA WAS SQUARELY FACING ETHNIC PROBLEM;

-- FOOD PRODUCTION, WITH MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH LAST WEEK IN SIGNING TWO NEW AID PROJECTS;

-- POPULATION, WHERE MAJOR ADVANCES WERE REGISTERED DURING PAST YEAR, WITH DISCREET US HELP;

-- REGIONAL RELATIONS, STRESSING CLOSER TIES WITH BURUNDI, PROGRESS ON REGIONAL COOPERATION; AND

-- GLOBAL ISSUES, PARTICULARLY RHODESIA AND HORN OF AFRICA, WHERE OUR POSITIONS SEEMED BASICALLY TO COINCIDE.

3. I TOLD PRESIDENT THAT IN ADDITION TO MAKING MY REPORT TO WASHINGTON I HAD TWO SPECIAL GOALS THERE: FIRST TO OBTAIN MORE STAFF HELP TO SUPPORT GROWING AID PROGRAM; CONFIDENTIAL

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AND SECOND, TO GET WASHINGTON VIEWS ON SIGNIFICANCE OF SOVIET/CUBAN ACTIVISM IN AFRICA FOR OUR ROLE IN RWANDA.

4. RELATIONS IN GENERAL. HABYARIMANA SAID HE SHARED MY BELIEF RELATIONS WERE GOOD, INDEED THEY HAD ALWAYS BEEN GOOD EVEN FROM PRE-INDEPENDENCE. OUR POSITIONS ON MOST MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES WERE NOT ONLY SIMILAR BUT VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL. WHAT BOTHERED HIM WAS THAT, WHILE DIPLOMATIC TIES SEEMED TO GROW STEADILY CLOSER, LEVEL OF OUR MATERIAL COOPERATION REMAINED FAIRLY CONSTANT AT LOW LEVEL. HE HOPED NEWLY SIGNED AID AGREEMENTS SIGNALLED UPTURN IN ASSISTANCE CURVE, BUT HE WARNED RWANDANS COULD NOT EAT "HOPES."

5. HUMAN RIGHTS. WHILE APPARENTLY PLEASED AT MY REFERENCE TO RWANDA'S CURRENTLY GOOD HR RECORD, HABYARIMANA QUICKLY PLACED RELATIONS WITH BURUNDI IN THIS CONTEXT. HE STRESSED HOW HARD LEADERS OF BOTH COUNTRIES HAD WORKED TO OVERCOME PAST ETHNIC TENSIONS, BUT HE CONFESSED AT BEING WORRIED PROGRESS COULD BE UNDERMINED BY NEW CUBAN PRESENCE IN BUJUMBURA. RWANDA WAS NOT AFRAID OF CUBANS ("THEY'RE MERELY HUMAN BEINGS") BUT COULD NOT

RATIONALIZE WHAT INTEREST THEY MIGHT HAVE IN BURUNDI AND HAD TO TAKE THEIR PRESENCE INTO ACCOUNT.

6. POPULATION. IN MY MOST OPEN DISCUSSION TO DATE WITH HABYARIMANA ON THIS SUBJECT, HE CONFIRMED THAT RWANDA WAS SERIOUS ABOUT IMPLEMENTING EFFECTIVE FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM. PRESENT STAGE, HE SAID, WAS ONE OF "SENSITIZING" RWANDANS TO POSSIBILITY OF AND NEED FOR REDUCING SIZE OF FAMILIES. NEXT STAGE WOULD BE TO ESTABLISH COUNSELING CLINICS AROUND THE COUNTRY, AND HE SUGGESTED US MIGHT BE PREPARED TO HELP SET UP THESE CLINICS (I CONFIRMED WE WOULD CERTAINLY BE INTERESTED). DELEGATION WHOSE TRIP WE HAD FINANCED TO MELBOURNE CAME BACK WITH PROMISING INFO ON BILLINGS METHOD, HE SAID, BUT DID NOT FORECLOSE
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EXAMINATION OF OTHER FP ALTERNATIVES.

7. REGIONAL RELATIONS. PRESIDENT STRESSED HOW KEEN HE WAS ON GREAT LAKES ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (CEPGL) AND ITS POTENTIAL FOR CONTRIBUTING TO REGIONAL STABILITY AS WELL AS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. SAID HE HOPED US WOULD TAKE SPECIAL INTEREST IN CEPGL AND MAKE A SUBSTANTIAL MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION TO ITS SUCCESS. (TOLD PRESIDENT I HSARED HIS VIEW OF CEPGL POTENTIAL, ADDING THAT AID HAD RECENTLY AGREED TO CONSIDER PROVIDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO CEPGL STAFF IN DEVELOPING REGIONAL METHANE GAS PROJECT.)

8. HORN OF AFRICA AND RHODESIA. PRESIDENT LAUDED OUR POSITIVE ROLE IN DAMPING DOWN CONFLICT IN HORN, SAYING OUR ACTIONS THERE HAD PREVENTED ITS BECOMING "ANOTHER ANGOLA" WHERE SOVIETS/CUBANS COULD TRANSPLANT COLD WAR RIVALRIES ONTO AFRICAN SOIL. HE WAS SIMILARLY COMPLIMENTARY OF OUR ROLE IN RHODESIA AND SHARED OUR DESIRE TO FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTION INVOLVING ALL PARTIES. HE ASKED ME TO DESCRIBE "ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN" IN DETAIL (WHICH I DID BASED ON AMB YOUNG'S FIVE-POINT COMPARISON TO SALISBURY ACCORD).

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KIGALI 495

9. US RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE. PRESIDENT REPEATED TO ME
CONSTERNATION ALREADY VOICED BY FONMIN OVER OUR APPARENT
"ABANDONMENT" OF MOBUTU AND ZAIRE. COUNTRY WAS IN DEEP
TROUBLE, AND MOBUTU HAD COMMITTED HIMSELF TO SERIOUS
HOUSE-CLEANING AND RESTRUCTURING IN MANAGEMENT OF ITS
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. NOW WAS NO TIME FOR ITS FRIENDS TO
ABANDON IT, JUST WHEN IT NEEDED THEM MOST. WHAT SPECI-
FICALLY, HE ASKED, WAS US POSITION ON "MOBUU PLAN"?
(CITING GRIFFITH MISSION TO KINSHASA FOR CONSULTATIVE
GROUP MEETINGS, I ASSURED HIM WE WERE PREPARED TO JOIN
WITH OTHER DONORS IN EFFORT TO HELP ZAIRE BAIL ITSELF
OUT OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, BUT THIS DEPENDED MAINLY
UPON ZAIRE'S OWN WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN SERIOUS
FASHION.) HABYARIMANA ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT "MOBUTU
PLAN" WOULD TAKE SPECIAL ACCOUNT OF EASTERN ZAIRE'S
NEEDS, SINCE SO MUCH ATTENTION AND RESOURCES IN PAST HAVE
GONE TO WESTERN ZAIRE; HE HOPED IN PARTICULAR FOR
SPECIFIC LINK TO CEPGL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS.
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10. MILITARY ASSISTANCE. PRESIDENT CONFESSED TO CON-
TINUING BITTERNESS OVER OUR DECISION NOT TO PROVIDE NON-
LETHAL MILITARY AID WHICH HE REQUESTED A YEAR AGO. MY
PREVIOUS EXPLANATIONS NOTWITHSTANDING, HE INDICATED
BELIEF THAT NEGATIVE DECISION HAD BEEN BASED ON REASONS
CITED NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE LAST OCTOBER 28: AVERSION
TO "MILITARY" GOVERNMENTS (" AFTER ALL, EVEN PRESIDENT
CARTER SERVED AS NAVY OFFICER"); RWANDA'S ALLEGEDLY POOR
HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD; AND COMPETITION WITH UPPER VOLTA AND
MALI FOR WASHINGTON FAVORS. (I RETRACED FOR PRESIDENT

LONG HISTORY OF WASHINGTON'S CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF RWANDAN REQUEST AND GROUNDS ON WHICH THAT REQUEST WAS FINALLY TURNED DOWN.) PRESIDENT SAID HE HOPED DECISION DID NOT CLOSE DOOR ONCE AND FOR ALL, AS SECURITY SITUATION IN AFRICA, AS WE KNEW, WAS CHANGING RAPIDLY. HE AGREED WITH ME THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN PROFESSIONAL TIES BETWEEN RWANDAN AND US MILITARY EVEN IN ABSENCE OF MATERIAL PROGRAM. BUT HE STRESSED ONCE AGAIN ARMY'S DEVELOPMENT ROLE AND ITS NEED FOR TRACTORS AND AMBULANCES FOR SOCIAL ACTION AS WELL AS TANKS AND GUNS FOR SELF-DEFENSE. RWANDA DID NOT EXPECT AN INVASION FROM BURUNDI, HE SAID, "BUT WHEN ONE MAN IS GIVEN A GUN, HIS NEIGHBOR IS OBLIGED TO LOOK TO HIS OWN PROTECTION." PRESENT WASHINGTON POLICY, HE SAID, SEEMED DESIGNED TO OBLIGE FRIENDS LIKE RWANDA TO LOOK TO "OTHERS" FOR MEANS OF SELF-PROTECTION. HE HOPED US WOULD RECOGNIZE SHORTSIGHTEDNESS OF SUCH A POLICY.

11. US DEVELOPMENTAL AID. CONCLUDING OUR DISCUSSION, HABYARIMANA RETURNED ONCE AGAIN TO BRIGHTENING PROSPECTS FOR LARGER US ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IN RWANDA, SAYING HE HOPED WE WOULD ABANDON MINI-PROJECT APPROACH IN FAVOR
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OF LARGER PROJECTS WITH VISIBLE IMPACT. HE WANTED RWANDANS TO KNOW THAT TIES WITH US "PAID OFF." RECENTLY SIGNED FSM PROJECT WAS GREATLY APPRECIATED, HE SAID, "BUT US COULD DO SO MUCH MORE HERE, JUST AS IT DOES SO MUCH MORE IN OTHER COUNTRIES." (I ASSURED PRESIDENT THAT IAD DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY RECENTLY APPROVED BY WASHINGTON ENVISAGED QUANTUM INCREASE IN US AID TO RURAL POOR, ESPECIALLY FOOD PRODUCTION, POPULATION, AND VOCATIONAL ED. I ALSO INSISTED THAT IN NO WAY COULD PROJECTS NOW BEING DISCUSSED BE CONSIDERED "MINI-PROJECTS," GIVEN MILLION DOLLAR SCALE OF SEVERAL. FINALLY, I TOLD HIM I REJOICED AT HOW FORTHCOMING BOTH WASHINGTON AND REDSO/EA HAD LATELY BEEN WITH REGARD TO RWANDAN PROGRAM, CITING NOT ONLY PROAGS SIGNED BUT TECHNICAL DESIGN STUDIES NOW UNDERWAY. SUCCESS REALLY DEPENDED ON CUTTING THROUGH BUREAUCRATIC TANGLES HERE AND IN WASHINGTON, AND I WAS HAPPY TO OTE PROGRESS ON BOTH FRONTS.)

12. COMMENT: THROUGHOUT CORDIAL CONVERSATION, PRESIDENT'S REMARKS TO ME WERE MEASURED AND REASONABLE -- HE DID NOT TAKE ALARMIST TACK AS HAD HIS FOREIGN MINISTER LAST WEEK. HOWEVER, HIS CALM MANNER DID NOT CONCEAL HIS OBVIOUS DISCOMFORT OVER SOVIET/CUBAN ACTIVISM AND HIS OWN FRUSTRATION OVER HOW TO RESPOND. HABYARIMANA LEANED HEAVILY ON HIS OWN DEEP IDENTIFICATION WITH WEST AND MADE CLEAR HE THOUGHT WESTERN FRIENDS SHOULD BE FAR MORE

RESPONSIVE TO RWANDA'S NEEDS THAN THEY HAVE BEEN TO DATE.
ALTHOUGH THERE WAS AN IMPLICIT WARNING RWANDA MIGHT
ITSELF LOOK FOR HELP FROM WHAT HE CALLED "OUR ENEMIES,"
HE DID NOT BELABOR THIS POSSIBILITY AND SEEMED TO WANT
TO AVOID IT AT ALL COSTS. BUT HIS WORRIES OVER RWANDA'S
INADEQUATE DEFENSES ARE OBVIOUSLY GENUINE.

13. FOR PAROCHIAL REASONS, WISH TO DRAW SPECIAL ATTENTION
TO OUR REMARKABLY FORTHRIGHT EXCHANGE ON TICKLISH
POPULATION QUESTION. PRESIDENT LEFT DOOR WIDE OPEN FOR
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IMPORTANT NEW ASSISTANCE IN THIS FIELD, WITH INVITATION
THAT WE JOIN IN SETTING UP FP COUNSELING CENTERS. HOPE
WE CAN COUNT ON FULLEST WASHINGTON BACKING AS WE SEEK
TO EXPLOIT THIS OPENING.
CRIGLER

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